1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism.

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan.

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their

* The men are called *hBems-pa*; the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

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CASTE--riks or roospa.

There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[795] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geylukspa or	
None	GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sarzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

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DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e, barley beer -- Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister; but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdár-ships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

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466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

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645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

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533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

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797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There
523 is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tashóo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equiva-
781 lent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

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195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

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681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.
Social and Religious Life.
The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *thákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hinduism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote:—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chóti* as does a *gossain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chótis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chóttin*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy:—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hun* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Religion of Láhaul and Spiti. 174

In the time when the *Lung pachkoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chap. III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423

The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of shareholders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans	20	70	131	200	154
Thákurs, including Doteas ...	20	80	75	404	303
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	780	1,357	3,384	2,441
Dágis and other low castes ...	43	106	145	126	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	60	60	181	66

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Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

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The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *sréjat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunma* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pakki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Barárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

[348]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 565 184 [171]

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Caste in Spiti.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

564 565 582 264

"In Spiti there are three classes: Chánzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Chánzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Chánzang will marry a Chánzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kadé*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Chánzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Chánzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Chánzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bothas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Chánzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *mondn* or *mowpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Chánzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bothas correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mowpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian?) tribe who once held these hills.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka saudá* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *táwás* or *togochís*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures. Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 502] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

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Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical " King Kesar," it is the Mon musician who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *Itadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on conjecture and turn to that founded on written records either inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been dis..herited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger ..her had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, ..aged to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a ..hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Th[illegible]e have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits th[illegible]am of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
● 564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
191 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
993 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Bu[illegible], and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
564 to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. This same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]●
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

(*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally ཨབྱེ་ཟངོལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་མྱོང་ངམ། དཔོན་བོས་བཀྱོན་མྱོང་ངམ།།

(*b*) stă'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

(*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

42. (*a*) ཐྲུག་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་རྒྱང་ཇ་འུ།།

(*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

(*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

(*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

(*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དགས་ཀོ་བློག་ཟེར་སར་དང་ལྷ་མའི་ཏོ་ལྷང་ཟེར་སལ་སྒྲོག་འདུག།

(*b*) kha'tă ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mă tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

(*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

44. (*a*) སྦལ་དི་སྙིང་ཅན་ནི་སྙིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་སྙིང་མེད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

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Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

[273] On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only [564] [533] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in U-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moraviar Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Mōns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry. 291

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry. 564 ●

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is not hereditary. 793

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places. 131

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 563 142 181

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [794] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people. 361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564 ●

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]